173 While these events occurred in the east, a sister of the Moro Naba, assigned to guard the tibo fetishes, quarreled with her brother and fled west to Ouahigouya. This region thus became Mossi territory and took the name of land of Ya. (2)

2. For further details, see Lt. Marc. op. cit. Ch. 7, and especially Delafosse, Haut Sénégal et Niger /Upper Senegal and Niger/, Series I, Vol. 2, p. 305 ff.

131 The region thus conquered lies within the bend of the Niger, approximately between the 11°30 and 13°30 parallels and from 2° to 5° longitude west of Paris. Its closest neighbors are the Macina and the Habé to the north, the Samo to the northwest, the Gourounsi to the west and southwest, the Nancana /Nankana/ to the south, the Bousansé to the southeast, the Gourmantché to the east, and the Peul of Dori to the northeast. The Mossi population has been estimated at
161 one and a half million, to which must be added the Yarsé, who are Mandé completely assimilated to the Mossi, the pastoral Peul, the Haoussa /Hausa/ who form small colonies near the large commercial centers of the region, and a few lesser groups. We shall deal with these populations only insofar as they have contact with the Mossi, in whose territory they are scattered.

133 Two important rivers cross the country from northwest [Tr., the original reads northeast] to southeast. They are the two Volta rivers, the White and the Red. In addition to these two larger waterways, which nevertheless do not flow throughout the year, there are a large number of watercourses /Tr., the French term, marigot, covers both river branch channels and shallow depressions where water accumulates forming pools/. They become impassable torrents after a storm, /6/ but remain empty during the dry season from November to June. The
312 shallow wells which supply water for the households are usually dug by the women in the beds of these watercourses.

There are no high mountains in Mossi country. When arriving from the north, the traveller crosses the beautiful cliffs of Bandiagara and the mountainous country of the Habe. /Two photographs appear here./ Mossi country begins almost at the foot of the cliffs. The northwestern region is, however, quite broken and includes the Pilimpikou peak; the two Volta rivers, especially the White Volta,

/451/ Book Four

Black Warriors and Conquerors

Chapter I

The Mossi -- Occupations

101 The Mossi are settled between the twelfth and fourteenth de-
131 grees of north latitude, and between the second and fifth degrees of west longitude. To the south, they extend slightly beyond the twelfth degree of latitude. They are indeed to be found in Saraboutenga, Rakaye, Béré, and Tenkodogo, but this does not bring them too far south of the twelfth degree. To the north, on the other hand, they do not quite reach the fourteenth degree.

161 The Mossi form a rather large group which occupies, in the
563 center of the area, the circle /an administrative division/ of Ouagadougou; to the northwest, the circle of Ouahigouya; to the southeast, the residency /administrative center/ of Tenkodogo; and to the east of the latter, the circle of Fada N'Gourma. Of course, the Mossi do not make up the total population of these four districts. In the Ouahigouya circle, there are the Habé /Habe/ and Houmbébé /Humbe/ to the northwest, and the Samoro /Samo/ to the south. In the Ouagadougou circle, which may be regarded as the center of Mossi territory, there are the Kipirsi to the east. In the Tenkodogo residency there are the Boussansé /Busansi/ to the south and in the circle of Fada N'Gourma the Gourmantché or Gourmanké /Gurma/ to the east. The Mossi, however, make up
161 the /452/ greater part of the total population in all four areas. In the circle of Ouagadougou, they number 750,000, in the residency of Tenkodogo, 122,000, in the residency of Leo, 1,000. This adds up to 873,000 for the circle of Ouagadougou as a whole. Assuming that there are 200,000 Mossi in the circles of Ouahigouya and Fada N'Gourma (a very approximate figure), a total of 1,073,000 Mossi is obtained. This makes them by far the most numerous group in all of French West Africa. The whole of our Dahomey, for example,

161 has but 655,000 inhabitants, while our French Guinea has 1,400,000, the Yolof /Wolof/ group of the Senegal numbers only 400,000, etc.

144 At present the Mossi are a completely homogeneous group in terms of custom and language, but this homogeneity is a mere end result. The Mossi population of today derives from the fusion of a conquering group (the Mossi proper) with a conquered group that was probably related closely to the Habé, Kipirsi, Gourounsi /Grunshi/, Boussansé, etc.

173 Lieutenant Marc, who lived for many years among the Mossi and who published a book /Le pays Mossi (Mossi Country)/ on the region in 1909, which I have already mentioned /in section not translated/, has the following to say on the subject:

"Local traditions claim that the Mossi come from far to the east. A long time ago, they occupied a territory located beyond the Niger, whose capital was called Aliaman. It is said that this land is now occupied by a Songhay /Songhai/ population. Then the Mossi came and occupied Dagomba /Tamale/. They defeated the inhabitants of that land, and the chief of the Mossi settled in Gambaga. The daughter of the king of Gambaga, Ouldiraogo ("male horse" in Mossi), had an affair in the bush with a Dagomba elephant hunter called Samba. She became pregnant, and as her father wanted to have her put to death, she took refuge in Tenkodogo. There she married the king of the land, a Boussangsé named Zoungourouma, who waged war on his father-in-law and conquered the entire region from Gambaga to Koupéla. Zoungourouma had three sons, Séré, Oubri, and Kouda. The first became naba of Boussouma. The second, Naba Oubri, conquered the region of Ouagadougou, built his capital there, and seized the Yatenga territory. Naba Oubri is regarded by the /453/ Mossi as the first Moro Naba and the founder of the present dynasty. He was succeeded by his brother Couda, and then by his son Nigamenda. The Mossi trace back to Naba Oubri the present organization of Mossi country and attribute to him the division of the land into fiefs governed by his brothers and relatives. At present members of the royal families of Ouagadougou, Boussouma, Tenkodogo, Fada N'Gourma, and Gambaga are regarded as direct descendants of Naba Oubri and his brothers.

241 2. The sououga, a knife used to cut down the heads of millet.

3. The gouégo, a curved knife, a kind of scythe which is used to cut straw, for example when preparing thatch for hut roofs.

To summarize, cultivation is the most important pursuit among the Mossi. It insures the subsistence of this population which is [161] relatively dense, since there are 25 inhabitants per square kilometer, a very high figure unusual for West Africa. The species of cultivated plants are as numerous as anywhere else, and the agricultural tools tend to be superior. In spite of all this, the Mossi are not very good cultivators, and in this respect I believe that they must be placed beneath the Bobo, Gourounsi, Habé, Bambara, etc. One senses that the Mossi descend at least in part from people who were once familiar with easier and more fruitful ways of procuring food (such as war and attendant loot) or, to put it another way, one senses the meeting of two groups, one of which was truly adept at cultivation while the other was less so. Thus, although the Mossi are cultivators first and foremost and actually subsist on cultivation, the latter is not as basic to them as it is to the Bobo, the Gourounsi, etc. They do practice cultivation, this is even by far their chief subsistence activity, and yet one cannot say that they are, in all respects, good cultivators.

231 Are they at least noteworthy stockbreeders?

To this we may give forthwith a negative answer. The Mossi are very mediocre, not to say worthless breeders. This is not to mean, incidentally, that there is no cattle in Mossi territory. There [563] is a great deal, on the contrary, and this stems from the presence of the Foulbé, who are cattle herders, as much as from the presence of the Yarsé, who /487/ have always owned considerable quantities of cattle, and from the density of the Mossi population. The Mossi themselves, nevertheless, own little cattle. To be more exact, they have a low per capita average of cattle.

We might list over-all or partial figures, but those most recently 231 compiled are vitiated by the fact that Mossi territory lost part of 563 its cattle in recent years due to repeated famines around 1906-1908 and to an overly rigorous tax system that went into effect a little later. We shall, therefore, merely validate our statement that the

161 How many inhabitants did this Mossi empire number, with its careful centralization, its hierarchy of chiefs, and its class of nobles, at the time of the French occupation (1896)?

In 1909 the census yielded 861,700 souls in the circle of Ouagadougou itself and 273,000 in the Tenkodogo residency, or a total of 1,135,000 inhabitants. From this figure, however, we must deduct the independent Boussansé (99,000 in the Tenkodogo residency) and also the people of the Kipirsi (Ouagadougou circle; in theory they are ruled by the Mossi, in fact they are independent; they may be estimated at 40,000). This leaves, for the five subject provinces and the four vassal provinces, about 996,000 inhabitants. It may thus be said that the Moro Naba of Ouagadougou ruled over a population of about a million men.

161 563 Out of this million men, there were roughly /583/ 850,000 Mossi, 40,000 Boussansé, 69,000 Yarsé, 32,000 Foulbé, 5,000 Silmi-Mossi, 1,000 Songhay (in the northern part of the Ouagadougou circle), and 1,000 Haoussa scattered here and there in the same fashion as the Yarsé and Foulbé.

161 We already know that this Ouagadougou empire did not make up the whole Mossi population. There stood alongside it two other kingdoms which must formerly have been subject to Ouagadougou but which had gained their independence long before our occupation. One of them, Yatenga, with Ouahigouya as its capital, was located to the northwest of the Ouagadougou empire. The other one, Gourma, with Fada N'Gourma as its capital, was located to the east. Those two kingdoms may have added up between them to a population of 450,000 in which the Mossi element predominated, with Habé and Samo elements in the Ouahigouya circle, and Gourmanké elements in the circle of Fada N'Gourma.

In short, about a million and a half inhabitants were divided among the Mossi kingdoms in the bend of the Niger, with one million in the most important of those kingdoms, that of Ouagadougou.

161 642 648 The population of the Mossi was, and still is, extraordinarily dense as compared with the over-all population density of West Africa. Among the Mossi, indeed, there are about 25 inhabitants per square kilometer, while in French Guinea, for example, there is an average of 6 inhabitants per square kilometer. This stems

[161] 642 648 from the fact that the Mossi empire was centralized. The internal struggles which often occur among primitive Blacks (Bobo, Gourounsi, Boussansé, Kipirsi, etc.) between villages, quarters, or even soukala, did not exist among the Mossi. Internal peace and security prevailed. In addition, the same centralized power that prevented Negro anarchy also prevented the territory from being devastated by chance conquerors, founders of empires. Thus, while the Djermabé Songhay devastated Gourounsi territory, a land of independent villages or small cantons, and cast it into a kingdom by force of arms, they did not dare attack their Mossi neighbors for fear of the Moro Naba's ten thousand horsemen. /583/ Thus, both internal and external peace were insured thanks to a centralized power. Hence, the impression made by the territory on various travelers between the time of Barth's trip (he did not see Mossi itself, but followed its northern border) and the French occupation. "Mossi territory is regarded as being untouchable," says Marc (op. cit., p. 28). "No doubt, at that time (the time of Barth's trip), as Crozat verified forty years later, one was struck on entering Mossi territory by the complete safety in which the people lived, while everywhere else war and the hunt for slaves devastated the villages. And one mentioned enviously the Mossi peasants who walked singly to their fields, hoe on shoulder, while everywhere else the head of the family had to keep his weapons at hand night and day."

Marc attributes this safety to the Mossi fear of fetishes. He thus looks far afield for an obvious explanation. The Gourounsi, too, had fetishes, and yet the Djermabé did not spare them and treated them more or less as cranes would treat frogs. The Mossi were spared because they lived in a centralized and thus powerful empire, in spite of Marc's assertion that this power was nil since it could not resist Lt. Voulet's handful of riflemen. Indeed, it was nil against power displayed in European fashion, just as Achanti /Ashanti/ power was nil against British strength, and Toucouleur power could not prevail against the forces of Col. Archinard. This Mossi power was nevertheless considerable within its own sphere, that is to say, in West Africa and against other Blacks. It sufficed to give the Mossi an advantage over the Kipirsi, Gourounsi, Boussansé, etc. It sufficed to prevent Toucouleur or Djermabé attack.

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
FA28 Mossi FA28

functioning of early Sudanese societies. It will also attempt to demonstrate how European conquest affected the political organization of the Mossi and contributed to its ultimate decline.

The kingdom of Ouagadougou was selected as the main object of study, primarily because it emerged as the most important Mossi polity and retained this position through the greater part of Mossi history. Attention will be given to the other Mossi polities and the three other Mossi kingdoms—Yatenga, Tenkodogo, and the more remote Fada-N'Gourma, all of which resemble Ouagadougou—only insofar as they affect the history of Ouagadougou or highlight the basic nature of Mossi government.

The Mossi are a Sudanese Negroid population in the new Republic of the Upper Volta.[2] They number about 2,200,000, or approximately half of the country's total population. Their ancestral territory, which they call *Mogho* (land of the Mossi), covers some 30,000 square miles in the southern part of the Republic. It is a huge plateau, lying from 1,000 to 1,600 feet above sea level, and broken by three low mountain ranges and numerous small hills. The Kipirsi range in the northeast has an average height of about 2,000 feet and includes the sacred mountain of the Mossi, known as Plimpikou. The Boussouma range to the east reaches a height of some 1,500 feet, and the Naouri range in the southeast is almost as high.

The climate of Mossi country is typical of the Sudanic zone. There are two main seasons, one cold and dry, the other hot and wet. The first begins in November with the coming of the harmattan and ends in January, the coolest month, when the average temperature is about 70° F. and the humidity about 12 per cent. The hot season extends from March to October. In July, the warmest month, the temperature reaches a high of 88° F. and the humidity 78 per cent. Violent dust storms herald the rains, which begin late in May and end in September. The rain falls almost entirely in heavy showers and thunderstorms, and the average annual fall is between 30 and 40 inches. In those years when the rainfall is about 40 inches and is regularly spaced, the Mossi can look forward to a good harvest. When the rainfall is below 30 inches and is spaced irregularly during the planting season, the threat of famine is serious. So narrow is the margin of rainfall for agriculture that in 1956 the people of one Mossi district anxiously awaited "two rains" (two showers), without which they feared that in 1957 there would be a difficult "hungry period" (the time between the exhaustion of one year's crops and the maturing of the next).

Mossi country is drained by only three rivers: the Black Volta with its two chief tributaries, the Sourou and the Debere, and the Red and White Voltas with their numerous small tributaries. Only the Black Volta flows

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
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appealed to the district chief, and occasionally the woman was sent back. A nobleman set on having a certain girl as a wife usually had small bracelets like those worn by all noble wives placed on her ankles. Once this was done, the chief could not be compelled to send her back to her parents, and any man who tried to retrieve her was guilty of interfering with a nobleman's wife and could be killed for it. In fact, only the male relatives of noblemen's wives could converse with them without running the risk of being apprehended and executed.

The district was the most important unit in the Mossi principalities and kingdoms. It was on this level that the Mossi nobility came into direct contact with the various social and ethnic groups of the society. Here, kinship and affinal ties linked the conquerors and the conquered, the ancient and recent nobility, the refugees from conflicts over the nam and the resident aliens, in a network of social, ritual, economic, and political relationships. It was also on this level that myths and traditions legitimized most effectively the Mossi socio-economic and political system as well as the relationships between the various social and ethnic groups.

The number and size of the Mossi districts varied greatly from one principality or kingdom to another. Some districts were large and wealthy, with a number of large villages; smaller districts had a larger proportion of small villages and hamlets. The average number of these small units was probably between fifty and sixty-five per district. The population of the districts ranged from 10,000 to 35,000 persons. Some *tense* (villages) had as many as 5,000 inhabitants and some as few as 50. The average village had about 500 inhabitants. But regardless of size, all Mossi districts and component villages had basically the same structure and fulfilled the same functions. The structure of Nobere district is representative. Nobere covered approximately 200 square miles. It was bounded on the east by a district called Manga, on the north by the districts of Toece and Djiba, and on the west and south by the Red Volta River. A census taken in 1905, just nine years after the European conquest, showed the Nobere population to be about 13,200.[10] In 1955 approximately 10,000 persons inhabited 24 villages and hamlets scattered through the more inhabitable part of the district.

The number of villages and hamlets in Nobere district apparently fluctuated. Villages were occasionally abandoned, while small hamlets grew into prominent settlements. The people of Nobere always tried to establish their villages as close to the Red Volta as possible in order to utilize the more fertile lands. But they were repeatedly driven back by disease and

643
642 66 ADMINISTRATION

631 ture, offers what is probably the best analysis of power relations among the
628 important Mossi chiefs. In commenting upon the Mogho Naba's inability
174 to stop the war between Yako and Yatenga he asks, "How could it be
114 otherwise? With what sanctions could this king without an army back up his orders if he ventured to give any? . . . In short, when the Ouagadougou ruler speaks, he is sometimes obeyed. If he is, all is well; if he is not, all is still well. Everything remains as before."[18] Crozat was mistaken if he believed that the Mogho Naba did not have a fighting force. What he did not have was a standing army to exercise his power whenever he wished. When he was able to summon an army, he was effective; when he was not, he had little power over any territory but his own. Crozat, like Binger, gives a strange picture of the political relationship between the Mogho Naba and the other rulers. He tells us that in the Mossi political hierarchy, "after the ruler of Ouagadougou comes the ruler of Boussouma, then the Yatenga ruler, and then the ruler of Yako."[19] Yatenga was traditionally independent of Ouagadougou, whereas Boussouma and Yako were simply autonomous principalities dependent on the Mogho Naba. It is possible that Crozat mistook the relative power of these various political entities for a hierarchical relationship. It is also possible that at the time of his visit, the Dimdamba felt sufficiently powerful to ignore the traditional hierarchy as far as their political relationship with other rulers was concerned, and were simply acknowledging relative gradations of power.

643 Clearly, the sovereignty of the Mogho Naba of Ouagadougou over the
642 independent kingdoms and autonomous principalities depended chiefly on
628 military might. The stronger a Mogho Naba was, the more actively he tried to control the internal administration of the autonomous principalities and to exercise police powers over them or on their behalf. However, most Mogho Nanamse were content to claim superiority or control over the independent kingdoms and refrained from meddling in their affairs.

643 Within the Mogho Naba's own kingdom, however, the situation was
635 different. Here, like other important Mossi rulers, he directed the admin-
634 istrative apparatus. For administrative purposes, the kingdom of Ouaga-
[642] dougou was divided into five large provinces (*weto*; sing. *weogho*; or
● [161] *solem*, from *so*, "command"). Together they included some three hundred districts, in which there were over four thousand villages inhabited by some 862,000 persons.[20] (Not included here were districts and villages directly administered by the Mogho Naba.) The provinces were not compact physical entities, because their component units were scattered throughout the country. To be sure, some of the districts within a province were close together or even contiguous, but many others stood alongside districts be-

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964

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[Pre-World War II Period]

relationship between the people and their chiefs. One of the principal contributing factors was the demand of the French administration that Mossi country not only share in the over-all development of French West Africa, but pay for its own administration as well. The resources of Mossi country were largely limited to agricultural production and stock raising, however, and revenue from these activities was slight. The full weight of administrative expenses thus fell on the Mossi people. Apparently, the first taxation was of a collective nature, for according to the official government report for June 1899, "No regular tax has been levied, but taxes have been collected from the Mogho Naba and the other chiefs."[9]

Decrees of July and November, 1903, authorized "native chiefs to collect taxes, and granted them a commission on the tax yield to arouse their interest in the regular payment of taxes."[10] Accustomed as they were to giving taxes (gifts) to their rulers with the knowledge that subordinate chiefs would extract a share before sending the remainder up the hierarchy, the Mossi were not averse to paying taxes through their traditional rulers to the "new chiefs," the French administration. However, when taxes grew to excessive proportions and chiefs continued to get a percentage, the people accused their rulers of cheating them. The reasons for the Mossi complaints about taxation are described by Tauxier, himself an administrator:

> This tax, light at first, has grown rapidly over the last few years. In 1906 it was 311,000 francs for the territory of Ouagadougou, which had a population of 861,000 inhabitants. In 1907, the tax was raised to 360,000 francs; in 1909, to 555,000 francs; and in 1910, to 656,000 francs. Furthermore, from 1908 onward this tax was exacted with such rigor and on such short notice that it was exactly as though the amount had been tripled. Under the circumstances, the Mossi were compelled to resort to trade in order to obtain the French money they did not have, since the local currency is the cowry and the French administration does not wish to receive it. . . . To meet this difficult situation the Mossi now organize small caravans in the villages, and send the young men to Wanke to sell cattle, sheep, goats, asses, horses, and bolts of cotton. They bring back with them either French money or kola nuts.[11]

Many Mossi had a great deal of difficulty in securing French currency. Mangin, a White Father who arrived in Mossi country in 1904, writes:

> The Europeans who live among the Mossi, including all the riflemen and cercle guards, do not put into circulation a quarter of the five-franc pieces that are required each year from the natives. At first the Mossi were taken by surprise and had to give 10,000 or even 15,000 cowries to obtain this famous coin, this charm which was to free them from all difficulties with the white man. At the official rate of exchange this coin is worth 5,000 cowries.[12]

12:Skinner E-4,5 (1955-1957) 1962
FA28 Mossi FA28

[p.237]

CHAPTER 9

Trade and Markets Among the Mossi People

BY ELLIOTT P. SKINNER

The Mossi represent the dominant population of the Voltaic Republic, numbering about 1,600,000 out of some 3,200,000 inhabitants. They represent the unique example of a group which has preserved its ethnic identity and political autonomy through all the vicissitudes of Sudanic history until it was conquered by the French in 1896. Tradition records that the people who became the Mossi left the Dagomba region in present-day Ghana during the eleventh century and moved into the bend of the Niger River, carving out three large kingdoms and smaller principalities in the process. At the head of these still extant kingdoms are rulers *(Moro Nabas)* who formerly held feudal-like control over the provinces, districts and villages which comprise their domains. The villages, with their patri-locai, polygynous, extended family households, formed the basic Mossi settlement pattern. A complex hierarchical administrative apparatus carried the power of the Mossi rulers into the smallest villages, and funneled taxes and tribute back to them. This structure still exists, but of course it has been modified by the French.

The Mossi were and are still divided into stratified royal, noble and commoner patrilineages. Characteristic of this lineage system is a process by which royal sub-lineages descend serially until they merge with the mass of commoner lineages. Below the lineages there once were large non-Mossi groups of serfs and slaves, but these people have now been grouped into lineages and have become Mossicized.

The topography of Mossi country is typical of the Sudanic grasslands. It is an immense plain, some 1,500 feet above sea level and broken only by three low mountain ranges and numerous small hills. The annual total rainfall is between 30 and 40 inches, and falls almost entirely as heavy showers or thundershowers during the period from June to September. So narrow is the margin of rainfall for successful crop cultivation that any variation in the cycle results in low crop yields and a difficult "hungry period" the following year before the new crops are harvested. The Mossi do not practice irrigation, and would have trouble doing so because the three Volta Rivers which drain their territory serve as drainage chiefly during the rainy season. Only the Black Volta has water all yehr round; the